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INDIAN TRIBES OF MAINE



BY
ISABELLE P. CONGDON

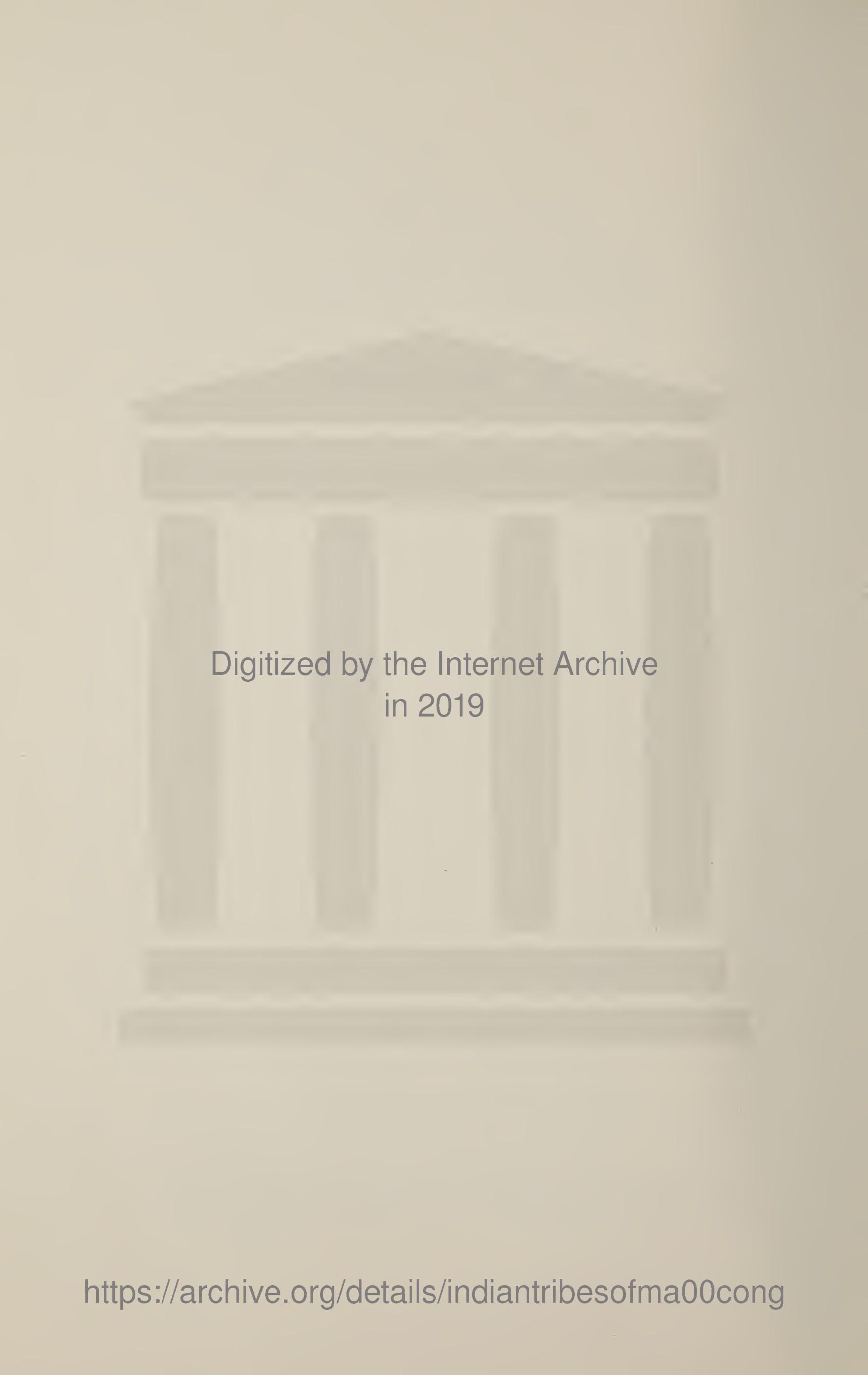
WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO INDIAN ACTIVITIES IN THE
REGIONS AROUND THE PRESENT LOCATIONS OF BATH AND BRUNSWICK

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A very faint, large watermark-like image of a classical building with four prominent columns and a triangular pediment occupies the background of the page.

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INDIAN TRIBES OF MAINE

Mrs. Isabelle P. Congdon has written a story of the Indian tribes of Maine, with particular reference to Indian activities in the regions of which Brunswick and Bath are now the centers.

Mrs. Congdon is the writer of several popular articles which have appeared in the YANKEE magazine, the Lewiston Journal magazine and other publications.

In her historical articles, she ably combines the authenticity of thorough research with charming natural style.

There is a fascination about the Indian names common throughout Maine, especially since these names represent practically the only survival of the race of red men who owned all Maine's forests and rivers centuries before the white man began to claim them. Many names in common use recall the name of a tribe, a sachem or even a common Indian word; only in a few instances have these names been changed as Cushnoc to Augusta and Pegwacket to Fryeburg. The name of Worumbo, the Androscoggin chief who affixed his seal to the Wharton purchase of the Pejepscot tract in 1684, lives in the name of a woolen manufacturing company at Lisbon Falls; the suffix "keag," meaning land, remains on Mattawaumkeag, while the term sagamore, or chief, was the title of a professional football team in Portland. Many rivers bear the names by which the Indians knew them, the Penobscot, the Presumpscot, Kennebec and Androscoggin.

The origin and history of the North American Indian has puzzled scholars and historians almost more than any other subject. It is not the purpose of this article to attempt to untangle the many theories on this subject, but rather to show the part the Maine Indian once played in the local scene.

All the Maine tribes belonged to the great Algonquin race, supposed to have journeyed in early times across the Mississippi, engaged in a great war with aboriginal tribes, and scattered, after conquest, over the northeastern portion of the country. This explanation accounts, in part, for the similarity of language among the New England Indians, with the exception of the Mohawks. Because of the nomadic nature of the Indian it has been difficult to place the homes of the various tribes in definite places. In a letter one captive says of them:

"Wherever an Indian happens to be, he is on the point of going somewhere else; never content, nor at rest."

Because of this leading trait of character he was difficult to subdue in the English method of organized expedition. A company of soldiers might travel for days to seek out an encampment, only to find no trace of a wigwam—nothing but the ashes of his campfire and the discarded bones of animals to show that he had ever inhabited the spot.

Of the Indian tribes in Maine, during the first years of its settlement, there were five principal ones, four of them belonging to the

Abenaki tribe, their speech and manners being similar. The fifth, living further east, was commonly thought to belong to the Etechemin tribe, like the Canadian Indians. All of the Abenaki tribes and a few of the Etechemin could understand each other well, with a few exceptions of tribal dialect, and all referred to each other as "brothers." Of the two most important in this district were the Canibas on the Kennebec and the Annasagunticooks, which lived on both sides of the Androscoggin. The name is spelled in various ways on early maps, and the corruption "Amascoggan" has been interpreted to mean, in Indian speech, "Fish coming in the spring," or "fish spearing"; although the Androscoggin was bountifully supplied with salmon in those days, the name probably had nothing to do with it. The Androscoggin was undoubtedly named for the tribe which lived along its banks. In a deposition of 1795 we may read the sworn statements of various early settlers that the Indian, headed toward Merrymeeting Bay always spoke of the river above the falls as Amoskegan (another spelling) and below that, it is ingeniously declared, "then comes Peygiscot." The Indian apparently called the settlement below the falls Pejepscot, although one of the earliest records says that Brunswick was called "Mackquicket," probably a corruption or misspelling of "Maquoit." It is to be remembered that the Indian did not think in the terms of the later township, only of localities which he named for some characteristic, as "Maquoit" which is said to mean "bear-place." The name "Pagiscot" is strangely enough retained in the name of a settlement a few miles higher on the Androscoggin long after Brunswick took its name in honor of a ruling house in England.

The two other Abenaki tribes were the Sokokis on the banks of the Saco, and the Wawenocks eastward of the Sagadahock to the St. John River. The Tarratines, more commonly known as the Penobscot Indians, lived on that river, and retained their virility and tribal identity after the close of the Indian wars. There are still two important branches of the Penobscot Indians at Old Town and in the vicinity of Eastport.

The Canibas and the Annasagunticooks were particularly active between the Saco and Penobscot rivers for a period of nearly eighty-five years, between the outbreak of King Philip's war and 1760 when lasting peace was made with them. The Brunswick settlement was in an unfortunate position in its early days, being situated on one of the most important waterways by which the Indians mainly traveled. There were several important "carrying-places"—"the upper carrying place" above the falls where they disembarked on their way toward Lewiston; the "lower carrying-place" later known as Stevens' carrying-place, from the head of Stevens river across to Wigwam Point below Merrymeeting Bay; a third carrying-place across Merriconeag neck which meant "quick carrying-place" to the Indian, and another across the New Meadows district to Mere Point.

Both the Annasagunticooks and the Canibas were very powerful and warlike in their tendencies. The former had a fort above Great

Falls (Lewiston) which was destroyed by General Church about 1690. The Canibas lived a few miles up the Kennebec, where Kennebis, their chief, is said to have had his home upon Swan Island, while Abagadussett, another chief, lived on a point of land between a river of that name and the Kennebec. The point is today called Abagadussett and is also referred to on early maps as Point Agreeable. Another explanation says the name Abagadussett means "the shining place" so-called from the reflection of light upon its waters. Both chiefs Abagadussett and Kennebis affixed their seal to the much disputed Lawson purchase, October 10, 1649.

It has been estimated that the Indian population in New England was about 70,000 in the year 1615. The number in Maine cannot be easily estimated, the population being more widespread and less known by the white people. One estimate sets the figure at 36,000, the Androscoggin Indians having about 1500 warriors. The close of the Indian wars about 1760 left this once powerful tribe so wasted by warfare and sickness that in 1747 they could muster only 160 warriors to march. A document signed by Captain John Gyles of Brunswick, Nov. 24, 1726 states that of the Androscoggin tribes there were 389 men. Many of them had been drawn off to St. Francis by the French and became later identified with the St. Francis Indians. Two brothers, Natanis and Sabatis, of the Androscoggin tribe are supposed to have been captured there by Rogers Rangers in the siege of 1759, and later accompanied the Arnold Expedition to Quebec—in 1775. We may assume that there has been some confusion in names as the Sabatis of local fame signed a treaty at Arrowsick in 1717 which indicates he was old enough then to be a chief. Another story relates that Sabatis visited Brunswick as late as 1800, when he met up with Daniel Eaton, a former captive whose father was killed at Pleasant Point in 1722, after which Sabatis had sold the younger Eaton in Canada for the sum of four dollars. On being reminded of this and Eaton's wounds Sabatis replied equably:

"That long ago; wartime, too."

Perhaps it were better to put this story under the head of "local tradition" of which Mr. Kenneth Roberts writes so scathingly, and confine our reports of Sabatis to the treaty to which he affixed his seal at Arrowsick in 1717, and a later communication in which he acts as spokesman for the Androscoggins in 1730 when he asked that supplies he kept for his Indians at Fort George.

The same fate of practical extinction befel the Kennebecks which suffered even greater losses during the French and Indian wars. The Kennebecks are, we believe, identified with the Norridgewocks whose principal settlement was in the vicinity of Madison. Most of this tribe was friendly with French and the chief supporters of the missionary Father Rasle whose settlement was attacked and wiped out in 1724. In 1764 they had but thirty warriors and by 1795 only six or seven families remained of this once powerful tribe. "The wasting sickness" and an epidemic of small pox carried off as many as did actual warfare. By the close of the Indian wars both tribes were so

wasted and scattered that not a chieftain was left to sign the treaty for either the Annasagunticooks or the Canibas. Phil Will, an educated Indian from Cape Cod, taken captive by the French at Louisberg in 1745 later became chief of the Androscoggins and for a short time kept the tribe from actual extinction.

From time to time young warriors like Robinhood and later his son Hopegood of the Kennebecs had dreams of conquering the whites and restoring the former glory of the tribe, but one by one these dreams were doomed to failure. The very quality which was the Indians chief pride, his skill in warfare, proved his undoing. Even the white men's chief weapon of ball and musket, supplied him by the French, and it is said, too, by the English trader, taught him little of survival. The Sokokis, or Saco Indians, valiant fighters as the English in "Lovewell's War" could thereafter muster only a dozen fighting men to aid the English at Louisberg. Before the fall of Quebec the tribe was extinct, the few survivors having identified themselves with other more active tribes. These "foreigners" could be recognized easily by their speech and haircut. Three Saco Indian fugitives called by the apostolic titles of Simon, Andrew and Peter hid first with the Abeniques and then with the Pennacooks (New Hampshire) before they were finally captured and killed. All three had a reputation for great cruelty, Simon being proudly known as "The Yankee Killer." It was he who told Thomas Brackett of Falmouth that he knew who had killed his cow, then while hunting for the supposed offender, fell upon Brackett and murdered him. Anthony Brackett's family was seized and taken captive and, for some reason, later abandoned at Sebasco-Degan Island, whence they escaped and returned to Casco. Anthony Brackett's story reads like fiction in that he later fell in with General Church following his attack on the Indians at Brunswick in 1690, and so found his way home.

The Indian character has been so often portrayed as cruel and revengeful that one seldom hears of his other finer characteristics. Indeed if one were to rely upon the experiences of Brunswick and Falmouth alone he could not paint a very prepossessing picture of the Maine Indian. The Indians never met their foes in large numbers or at expected places. If the Yankee is shrewd and calculating, likely to take advantage of his opponents' weakness, it is undoubtedly because his ancestors learned that it was the only method conducive to survival. The Indians fought in small groups and relied upon surprise attacks, which often enough turned swiftly to retreat if met with opposition. It was baffling to the settlers because of its unexpectedness. Constantly in dread of sudden uprisings they lived in a state of apprehension which, in the more hardy, eventually became stoicism. They raised their meager crops with great difficulty. Cattle the Indian killed for sport, sometimes taking nothing but the tongue to show his contempt for domesticity, but corn he seldom molested. "We never destroy corn," one chief proudly defended himself. Corn was recognized as legitimate food, a medium of exchange, often the only food between himself and starvation. Meat was plentiful generally; unless

unusual weather prevented his hunting there was always abundance of fresh deer meat.

For years, one historian tells us, farmers went to the fields with guns beside them while their families barricaded themselves at home or scattered to the block-houses, ill-equipped for accommodating whole families. So strong was the feeling against the Indians that it was impossible to convict a white man in court for killing an Indian, whether he did it from avarice or through mistaken identity. Unscrupulous traders took all they could in the way of furs or beaver skin and left the disgruntled Indian to wreak vengeance on innocent white people after they had departed.

Of the provocations that led to the enmity of the Indians something, in fairness must be said. We quote herewith an expression of Indian feeling:

"Indians and white men have one great Father. (Tanto or Tantum meant Great Spirit in the Androscoggin dialect.) He has given every tribe of us a goodly river which yields us fine salmon and other fish. Their borders are wide and pleasant. Here the Indians from oldest times have hunted the bear, the moose, the beaver. It is our country where our fathers died, where ourselves and our children were born—we can never leave it. The Indian has rights and loves good as well as the Englishmen. When first you came from the morning waters, we took you into our open arms. We thought you children of the sun; we fed you our best meat—never went a white man cold and starving from the cabin of an Indian. Do we not speak truth?"

Ignorance of the methods of white men's trading led the Indian to sign away his right to the land, and in many cases he never dreamed but that his conveyance was a temporary one. Documents read and defined as to exact boundaries meant little to him, but he fixed his seal solemnly to the pact as a sign of friendliness. The term "Indian giver" has come to mean something which is expected back. The white man's court of appeals did not interest him. If he came before it, he was always worsted in the settlement. All he asked proudly of the white man was to trade and to fight. English provincial governors, in an effort to maintain peace or secure treaties, met the chiefs on their own ground. The same method was employed over and over, a conference with tribal chiefs, the mutual assurance of brotherhood and friendliness, the pact sealed with valuable presents. But with peace so dramatically concluded, it needed little but a neighborhood dispute over fishing rights, an overt act of unfriendliness and hostilities reopened all along the line. Friendly Indians renewed alliance with their red brothers and in every town and settlement the fires were kindled anew.

A sailor pushed Squando's squaw and her child out of a canoe into the Saco to prove, he said, "that all Indians could swim naturally like animals." The child sickened thereafter and died, which led to Squando's wrath and the subsequent stirring up of the Saco Indians. So slight an occasion as this, it is said, precipitated King Philip's War

into Maine. In one month fifteen leagues of coast eastward to Saco were laid waste, the inhabitants massacred or taken captive. Their cattle killed, their homes in ashes, dozens of families saw the labor of years wiped away in a single night.

In Brunswick the Anasagunticooks seized the occasion to fall upon the home of Thomas Purchase and rob it. They did no harm to the occupants, but Purchase, coming home suddenly, was seen and obliged to flee for his life. The assailants seemed satisfied with their booty, but warned the family that others would soon come who would treat them worse. Purchase seems to have fallen into disrepute prior to this through his sharp trading. One Indian is supposed to have said that he had probably paid one hundred pounds for water from Purchase's well.

Hostilities, once commenced, were slow to die out. King Philip's war lasted only three years but it paved the way to two more which lasted nearly ten each, a fourth of three and one-half years, a fifth of four years' and a sixth of five years' duration. This extended over a period of nearly eighty-five years, longer than the average life of a generation. The field of activity extended over all New England, the war waged, perhaps, with greatest intensity by the Mohawks in western Massachusetts but with no less dire results in the small Maine settlements. So devastating was warfare that in 1689 only four Maine towns survived it. New grants and assistance on the part of the General Court of Massachusetts were made again and again before towns of any permanence were settled. In the next half century half a dozen forts were erected and supplied with troops along the eastern frontier. Fort George built in 1715, having in peaceful times only three men, was doubled in defense from three to six men, and once again to twelve. In 1737 there was talk of dismantling it to save expense, for by that time the General Court was heavily burdened, but on a plea from the citizens of Brunswick, "Topsum" and Harpswell, which had been recognized as a township in 1717, the plan was not carried through. Furthermore it became an important stopping place for a scout chain from New Marblehead (Windham) through to Fort Halifax at Richmond and, after 1754, to Fort Western at Cushnoc.

After the death of King Philip in August 1676 most of his supporters distributed themselves among the Pennacooks and the Abeniques, Squando, a Saco chief who professed to have supernatural power, renewed the war with a vengeance. He had under his command Mugg, one of the most wily Indians we hear about in this section. He engaged in a peace treaty in behalf of Modockowando, chief of the Tarratines, and agreed to cease all hostilities in the region, returning prisoners taken at Richmond Island. He also agreed to visit the Teconnets on the Kennebec, making solemn pledges for his return "unless bereft of life and liberty." He had, apparently, no notion of returning or fulfilling his mission for he is said to have joked with the Indians at Teconnet:

"I know now we can even burn Boston and drive all the country

before us;—we must go to the fishing islands and take all the white men's vessels."

Only part of the captives were returned and the scalps of three "foreign Indians" of the tribe, leading the English to the belief that new hostilities were about to open. Majors Waldron and Frost were sent out in charge of an expedition which landed at Mair Point where they met up with Squando and Simon known as "The Yankee Killer." It is interesting to note here that the term "Yankee" is supposed to have originated with the Indians, the word "Yengees" being the word by which they referred to the English. Here Major Waldron renewed parley for the return of white prisoners but was met with evasive answers by Squando who finally agreed to return them that afternoon. Nothing further was heard until the next noon when a house further up the bay, was seen to go up in flames—the Indian answer to peace. Waldron continued to fight without much advantage, then he withdrew to renew negotiations at Pemaquid. There through chicanery he nearly lost his life. In desperation Sir Edmund Andros suggested hiring the Mohawks to aid them in quelling the Abenaki. The Mohawks were at peace with the English at this time and greatly feared by the northern tribes. The move was extremely unwise and served only to arouse the Maine tribes to greater fury. There were subsequent attacks on Arrowsick, York and Wells. The death of Blind Will, a chieftain, and Mugg weakened the Indian strength though it was not until 1678 that peace was concluded at Casco with practically all concessions in favor of the Indians. About two hundred and sixty settlers had been killed any many others taken captive. The cost of the war in Maine alone was estimated at eight thousand pounds, besides incidental losses of property and homes.

If the ten years' interval of peace following, was advantageous to the Maine settlers, it was no less favorable to the Indian tribes. They consolidated as never before in resentment against the white men cutting down their forests, taking over their best fishing grounds which they spoiled with refuse from their sawmills. In fact the encroachments of the English civilization despoiled everything that had been precious to them. At no time in our history do we find the Indian adapting himself generally to the habits of the white man. He preferred to live as his people had lived from time immemorial and extinction was preferable to change. He might grow attached to the white man who was honest in his dealings, he invariably repaid favors with favors and kindness with kindness but he never accepted his mode of living in one place, in sheltered heated houses surrounded by accumulating possessions. In the isolated cases of intermarriage the couple generally lived in the primitive Indian fashion, and there are instances when captives refused to go back to their families, preferring the Indian's mode of living. Some aspects of the Christian faith appealed to the deep religious spirit of the red man, but he clung to his tribal superstition and old customs. A chieftain, when asked why he liked the French better than the English, replied simply, "They taught us to pray."

The unemotionalism of the Protestant faith appealed but little to his nature, although the Indian is unemotional himself so far as expressing fear or sorrow is concerned. Tears or expression of suffering he viewed with cold dislike. Many a captive owed his life to a stoic endurance of his physical or mental suffering. Tears of grief for lost ones or wincing under pain was met by a blow from the hatchet and instant death. Indian children were schooled early against suffering and those who betrayed their pain were treated little better than the white prisoner who cried out. Yet there are many instances of generosity, of sharing food with prisoners on the march. Eaton, a Brunswick captive relates (and this is local tradition again) that his captor Sabatis shot a partridge and gave him the meat of the bird, reserving only the head and entrails for himself, a dish which he ate apparently with great relish.

During the period of peace the sagamores of the leading tribes protested against the encroachment of the white men building new settlements. They had intended, they said, by the treaty of 1678 merely to permit those settlements already established and not to countenance new ones. Worumbee, chief of the Androscoggins since the death of Tarumkin, with Hopegood, Moxus and Bomaseen of the Kennebecks were grumbling over conveyances of land along the Kennebec and insisted that they had been cheated. Other Abenaki tribes insisted that the corn that had been promised them yearly by the treaty had not been paid. The French encouraged their grievances and underneath everything was the unforgotten resentment that the Mohawks had been used against them in the late war. Two men employed in building a garrison on the eastern side of the Royal River were seized by the Indians and in August 1688 hostilities were definitely recommenced, just ten years after the signing of the treaty. A general attack followed the seizing of the two men at North Yarmouth of which Captain Walter Glendell was an eye witness. Having been a fur trader with the Indians he thought himself immune from injury, so, standing upright in his canoe, in full sight of them, he started across the river with ammunition from the garrison to aid his neighbors. Before he reached the other side he received a fatal shot from the savages, but was able to throw the ammunition to safety, saying as his last words:

“I have lost my life in your service.”

Several other men lost their lives on this occasion and the settlement at North Yarmouth was broken up for several years. Major Frost and General Tyng were put in charge of a Maine defense expedition but arrived too late to prevent dire calamity at Cocheco (Dover) where Major Waldron, the great Indian fighter now an old man, was surprised and put to death in a manner indescribable.

The aid of the French in the conflict gave new impetus to the savages. To discourage the settlement of the English in the Maine colony the French offered a reward for English captives taken by the Indians, and to collect that reward, every captive, not being killed or dying as the result of mistreatment or exposure, was carried to Canada

for ransom. The ransom was in accordance with the position and importance of the prisoner. Thereafter he was treated like any prisoner of war, and generally treated kindly by the French until in due season he was ransomed by the government or exchanged for French prisoners. The greatest hardship was the exposure to wind and cold and lack of food on the march on the long journey northward through the wilderness. Following a trail and relying upon his skill to obtain food was a normal procedure in the Indian's life but it meant great hardship to the captive used to a softer mode of living. It must be remembered that an Indian squaw might easily start traveling a few days after childbirth, whereas to the white man, forcing a new mother to march under such circumstances was considered inhuman. The Indian either failed to grasp an idea of this sort or he may have thought any prisoner so weak was of little use alive. Frequently the Indian captor, tired of the ill health or the laments of his prisoner, disposed of him or her on the way rather than burden himself with a prisoner whose ransom was worth but little after reaching Quebec. There is no doubt, however, that certain Indians derived a sadistic enjoyment from watching torture, but there were many white men of no different calibre.

On August 2nd Pemaquid was destroyed and practically all the eastern inhabitants withdrew to the fort at Falmouth for safety. Most of the smaller forts eastward were abandoned, while farms fell into disuse and crops were left to rot unharvested. Massachusetts ordered six hundred men to be raised for the defense of its eastern holdings and supplied the garrison at Falmouth with "corn, rye, biscuit, salt and clothing." Thomas Danforth, President of the Province, commissioned Major Benjamin Church to take over the expedition and to station his headquarters at Falmouth, empowering him "To impress boats, carts, carriages, horses and men to aid him in pursuit of the enemy." This appears to be the most serious attempt on the part of the general government to suppress the Indians in this vicinity. The Mohawks, approached again to aid in the war, refused to go against the "Onagounges" as they called the Maine Indians collectively. To make things still more distressing, Count Frontenac, anxious to aid in prosecuting the war that was going on between England and his native country, sent out three expeditions, the first of which destroyed Schenectady, a Dutch settlement in New York; the second into Maine reducing the towns of Berwick into ashes; the third directed against Falmouth. The Berwick expedition numbered fifty men, half of which were Kennebec Indians under their famous chief, Hopegood.

The capture of Falmouth was one of the greatest victories of the French and Indians up to this time. Two other forts at Casco capitulated after a brief siege but Fort Loyal surrendered only after a siege of four days and four nights. The promise of protection for the women and children was horribly violated according to Captain Davis, one of the few surviving prisoners. The French, he stated, "permitted the women and children to be murdered before our eyes." The stories of

the few survivors are too horrible to be related. Overloaded with burdens, taunted and tortured they set out upon the march, many of them going to death eventually before they reached Canada. The French abruptly returned to Quebec anticipating an attack from the English who had just finished a successful campaign under Phips in Nova Scotia.

Major General Church was again sent into the field to visit the forts at Casco and Pejepscot (Brunswick), and to dispatch the French or Indians who might be in possession. He landed at Maquoit and before daylight headed for Fort Andros. He surprised young Doney, son of the chief who maintained quarters at Winter Harbor, with his squaw and two captives on foot on the further side of a marsh about a mile from the fort. Doney, who is said to have been half French, half Indian shouted, "Englishmen, Englishmen!" and began to ford the stream with General Church and his men wading after him to their arm pits. (This is probably Mair Brook which was then a stream of considerable proportions.) Warned by the fleeing Doney, the Indians fled from the fort, some escaping under the falls, others drowning in the river, while the few remaining surrendered without opposition. The captives were in a starving condition, and among the prisoners taken was the wife of Worumbo and several other squaws of the sagamores. The wives of the sagamores were sent on board a vessel for Wells as prisoners of war, but the remaining captives were killed, including the women and children. Major Church's brutality may be pardoned in view of the high feeling regarding the Falmouth episode. He next proceeded up the Androscoggin where he recovered seven captives and killed twenty Indians. This was probably the Indian stronghold above Great Falls mentioned earlier. One captive, Great Tom, escaped and fled to warn the sagamores, with the result that Anthony Brackett taken prisoner at Falmouth the preceding year was abandoned and managed later to meet up with Church at Maquoit. Proceeding next to Winter Harbor in search of Old Doney, he was successful again, and stopped on his return at the Brunswick Fort, where he put all the occupants to flight once more.

Although Major Church had scoured the eastern territory the government thought his accomplishment negative. He himself said,

"The easterward expedition rolled home upon him like a snowball gathering size at every turn till he was quite overshadowed and hidden from all favorable view of his friends."

He was quite successful however in collecting funds and supplies in the Plymouth Colony for the relief of the distressed Maine settlers and in one other respect was his campaign favorable. The sagamores were so gratified that their wives were restored to them that they agreed with the English that the French had made fools of them.

"We will go to war no more" they said. "We are ready to meet you at any time and at any place you appoint and enter into a treaty."

It was, nevertheless, a dark period for the Maine settlers. Only four towns York, Wells, Kittery and Appledore (Isle of Shoals) survived and these apparently were destined too for destruction. At the

time appointed for the treaty not one sagamore appeared. The treaty time was postponed and at last, despairing of accomplishing anything, President Danforth withdrew from Wells, with the promise of sending reinforcements to Captain Converse. Just half an hour after their arrival the garrison was attacked by Moxus, henchman of Modockawando, who is said to have remarked.

"Moxus miss it this time—next year I'll have the dog Converse out of his den."

In February 1692 the long delayed attack on Wells was carried through with disastrous results, about seventy-five people being killed and nearly a hundred prisoners taken. There is indication that the Androscoggins were involved in this attack, several women and children being spared, it is believed out of recognition of the like courtesy shown at Brunswick. This, if true, illustrates, one dominant trait of the Indian—gratitude for any favor.

Wells was victim of another assault on June 10th, by five hundred French and Indians. Converse refused to surrender on any terms, remembering the fate of the women and children at Falmouth. Several fell here, one a French soldier. To avenge his death the Indians put John Desmond, their one prisoner, to death in the approved Indian fashion.

The war dragged on unsuccessfully even with Converse, the indomitable, in charge of the eastern forces. Pemaquid, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland were re-possessed by the French and fear of further conquest in Maine caused Massachusetts to strengthen her frontier fortifications. Before plans were completed peace was concluded between England and France, an occasion for great rejoicing.

Major Converse and Col Phillips came from Boston to meet the sagamores of the Kennebec, Penobscot and Androscoggin tribes for ratification of a treaty at Mair Point. Allegiance was renewed to the King and prisoners were exchanged, among them Bomaseen of the Kennebec tribe.

This closed the second Indian war. As a great part of it was in the Pejepscot district or its environs, peace was suitably enough concluded at Mair Point within its precincts. It was a costlier war than the first. Practically all that had been accomplished in the way of cultivation and building was utterly demolished either through actual destruction or left to waste through the settlers' abandonment. For reward the Indians gained little, a few scalps and some plunder, and the rather dubious honor of praise from the French. Modockawando, the Tarrantine chief, most zealous in the prosecution of the war, had fallen a victim to "the wasting sickness" to which the Indians seemed especially vulnerable. The Androscoggins and the Saco Indians were ready for peace, with only the Kennebecs anxious for war. About 450 settlers had been killed or died of their wounds, while 250 more had been taken captive, many of them never to see their homes again.

Another interval of peace, which lasted till 1703, gave the Indians an opportunity to recruit their depleted strength. The third war is commonly known as Queen Anne's war. The wasted forces of the

Maine tribes had been persuaded to collect and settle at Beancourt and St. Francis in Canada where the French could count on them in future engagements. St. Francis is pictured as a sizable Indian village with many wigwams, a chapel and parsonage house, furnished with a missionary and interpreter. Many embraced the Catholic faith, though few strayed far from their primitive beliefs and superstitions. The French controlled their fur trade and held them in readiness for protection against the dreaded Mohawks. The English settlers were kept constantly on the alert against the French struggling to build a colonial empire on the fringe of the British colonies, while the Indians still nursed old grudges for the loss of their hunting grounds. Here is an instance of their lack of astuteness, for it may be easily seen that between the English and French rivalries the Indians were doomed. Not even the promise of eternal brotherhood with the French or the magnificent gifts with which the English governors at times showered them availed them anything. They were doomed to inevitable defeat whether the British or the French triumphed.

The first outbreak in the third Indian war was the plundering of the home of Baron Castine. He himself had gone back to France but had left one son "Castine the Younger" by an Indian wife, probably the daughter of Modockawando. "The Younger" complained to the General Court but offered no violence as he was disposed to peace. The Indians next fell upon Wells, Saco, Scarborough and Casco, killing nine at Purpoolduck. Next they came to Casco taking a sloop and two shallops intending to undermine the fort from the waterside as they had done successfully before. Captain Southwick routed the force, estimated at 500, and raised the siege but the attack was violent enough to alarm the whole district. Major Church was summoned for his fifth expedition into the provinces, an expedition which carried him successfully into Nova Scotia. An attempt was made on Norridgewock under Colonel Hilton but there nothing was found but empty wigwams and an abandoned chapel. Father Rasle's successful mission with the Indians there continued for many years to be a chief source of annoyance to the English.

The war dragged on without much profit to either side. After five years the lumber and shipping business in the district was practically ruined and the inhabitants discouraged. The conquest of Port Royal by the English in 1710 brought the long sought for peace, with Nova Scotia no longer a convenient hiding place for unfriendly tribes. The treaty of Utrecht in 1713 brought the usual supplementary treaties between the English and the Indians. Delegates from the various tribes met at Portsmouth in July and two days later local ratification was made at Casco, though Moxus, who claimed to have succeeded Modockawando as chief of all the eastern tribes, did not sign.

The Indians had lost heavily in this third war. Of the earlier powerful tribes not more than three hundred warriors remained. They had lost, too, a great part of their tribal ferocity of the two earlier conflicts. Bombaseen, now advanced in years, signed the treaty for the Kennebecs. Besides "Castine the Younger" and Moxus only

Assacombuit remained as leading sagamores of the eastern tribes. It is said that Assacombuit was taken to France to encourage the Indians in aiding the French in the war. When he appeared at court he raised his hand and exclaimed:

"This hand has slain 150 of your Majesty's enemies within the territories of New England."

The monarch was so pleased that he knighted him and Assacombuit, returning home with his honors, became so insufferable to the tribe that they threatened his life, and he was obliged to flee.

Castine the Younger was a direct contrast to Assacombuit. His policy was to maintain peace with the English and all his dealings were endowed with honesty and good sense. About 1722 he is thought to have visited France to inherit his father's fortune, from which country we hear nothing more of him. It is possible that under his guidance in the ensuing wars the fate of the eastern Indians might have been different.

In the same year as peace was concluded the General court appointed a Committee of Claims and Settlements to clarify the deeds which had either been lost or destroyed during the late war. It was a significant period in the history of Brunswick. Richard Wharton, Thomas Purchase's successor to the Pejepscot grant, having died insolvent, a group of men later known as "The Pejepscot Proprietors" purchased his claim for the sum of one hundred pounds, and asked the Court to encourage settlement of three new townships to be known as "Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell." They agreed to exempt these towns from taxes for five years if advanced four hundred pounds for a good stone fort, with the understanding that they would provide a minister and maintain a guard of fifteen men. The plea was granted and Fort George begun in 1715 at a spot which was a favorite meeting place for the eastern and western tribes of Maine. The writer is convinced that Merrymeeting Bay is so-called because of these tribal gatherings rather than because it is the meeting place of five rivers.

Settlement in Brunswick was not, however, immediate. In 1718 there were only a few families living in or near the fort of which Captain Woodside was in command. A blockhouse, located near Maquoit became a favorite landing place for eastward traders or military expeditions. The two other towns were sparsely settled several years later, then abandoned during Lovewell's war.

Once again the new settlements growing up grieved the Indian tribes. As one method of conciliating them, the General Court offered one hundred and fifty pounds annually to a minister to reside at Fort George to instruct and guide them. A young scholar was to act as his associate and was given the sum of ten pounds to purchase books and "Curiosities which was to be distributed among his pupils according to their merits." Indian education was not found to be generally effective and compulsory school attendance was met with resistance. It was thought that peaceful association with white men might be used to advantage as this method had earned the French

many an ally. At a conference held shortly thereafter at Arrowsick the Governor presented them with English and Indian Bibles.

"All people," the Indian spokesman said, "Love their own ministers. Your bibles we do not care to keep; God has given us teaching and should we go from that we would offend God."

That very evening a letter of defiance came from Sebastian Rasle, the French missionary at Norridgewock, saying that he would protect the lands of the Indians against every encroachment. Parley was renewed with the Indians who seemed anxious for peace but there was much protest against more fort building. Nevertheless work was begun on Fort Richmond about opposite Swan Island, the chief stronghold of the Kennebecs. In 1719 the inhabitants noticing increasing insolence of the Abenaeques and Governor Shute increased the number of guardsmen along the frontiers. Contrary to Father Rasle's advice the Norridgewocks elected a peace lover as their chief and manifested friendliness to the extent of sending four Indian hostages to Boston. The Governor of Canada, on being notified of this, informed his minister at Norridgewock that he had applied to the Indians at St. Francis and Beancourt, to let the English know, he said,

"That they will have to deal with other tribes than the one at Norridgewock if they continue their encroachments."

Attended by Father Rasle and Castine the Younger, two hundred Indians arrived at Arrowsick in August and presented the commander with a letter addressed to Governor Shute, the substance of which was a solemn warning that if the inhabitants did not remove themselves within three weeks, the Indians would destroy their houses and their cattle. In the winter of 1721 Col. Westbrook set out with a party against Rasle and Norridgewock but found the priest and his supporters departed. His correspondence with the Governor of Canada being discovered, they had proof that he was endeavoring to incite the Indians against the English settlers. Since there had been no bloodshed, only grumblings and warnings, the Governor devised a new policy of ignoring ill feelings and made valuable presents to Bombaseen, now an old man, but still influential with the tribe.

The fourth Indian War, usually called "Lovewell's War," because it was at Lovell's Pond in Saco that the most disastrous engagement was fought, was perhaps the most bitter conflict of all for the region, as it assumed largely a local character between the Indians and the Maine settlers. Its purpose was to accomplish two things: dislodge Rasle and the French influence from Norridgewock and make the settlements safe from Indian marauders. The eternal grievance of the Indian was the encroachment of growing settlements in his land. He wished above everything to lay waste all signs of civilization, restore the cleared fields to untrampled wilderness and still the whining of the sawmills.

The first act of hostility opened on the Androscoggins June 1722, when a party of Indians, sixty or more, probably Androscoggins and Kennebecs, appeared at Merrymeeting Bay where they captured nine families at Pleasant Point. All were released except five men, Ham-

ilton, Hanson, Trescott, Love, and Edgar who were carried to Canada and later redeemed at a high ransom. Other attacks followed on Fort St. George at Castine and Casco, and later the same summer another attack was made in Brunswick. Not content with murdering and taking the settlers captive they burned their homes and the little settlement was left in ashes. Captain John Harmon was notified at Arrow-sick and came up the river in whaleboats in time to surprise the Indians resting at Pleasant Point after their delightful orgy. It was on this occasion that their prisoner Moses Eaton was put to death and his son taken captive by Sabatis.

The following spring another attempt was made on Norridgewock but the winter had been so mild that it was found impossible to reach the place either by land or water. In August 1724 three captains, Harmon, Moulton and Bane left Richmond Fort and went as far as Teconnet (Winslow) by water, where they left their boats and started by land for the far-famed Norridgewock. This time they were successful. Bombaseen lost his life at the outset and the forces surprised Father Rasle in his wigwam. Moulton had ordered that his life be spared but young Lieutenant Jacques of Harpswell shot him, he declared in self defense. The justice of Rasle's execution has long been a subject of difference of opinion. Charlevoix describes his death as a martyr, while the Protestant account relates that a young English boy had just been tortured by him. The English detachment arrived back at Fort Richmond without losing a man. The Norridgewock power was broken, all its noted warriors, Bomaseen, Mogg, Job and Carrabassett being killed in the fray.

The following April two Indians surprised a scout named Cochran at Maquoit and held him captive two days. Cochran appeared at the end of that time back at the fort with a gun and an Indian scalp. He told an ingenious story of how he had risen at night while his captors slept, killed them both and taken their guns and scalps, one of which he had lost fording the river. His companions returned to the woods at Maquoit and found the two Indians just as he had said.

The battle of Lovell's Pond is perhaps too well known in Maine for great detail of it to be given here. It is enough to say that it was one of the most desperate engagements fought on Maine soil. Captain Lovewell, setting out with forty-six volunteers arrived at his destination near Pegwacket, the present town of Fryeburg, with only thirty-four, the rest having been brought down by fatigue or sickness. Attacked by sixty-three Indians under Paugus and Wahwa, two Saco chiefs, his numbers swiftly diminished. Evening found them with ten already dead, nine injured and one missing. Retreat was impossible and surrender never considered. "The battle of Pegwacket," though it utterly annihilated the English force, broke the power of the Saco Indians. The body of Paugus was found on the spot later by Colonel Tyng though the bodies of other warriors had been removed by their comrades.

A treaty was signed in December 1725 and ratified at Falmouth

the following July. About forty chiefs appeared at the conference, among them Wenemovet who claimed he was empowered to act for the Canibas, the Androscoggins and also for the St. Francis Indians and Wawenocks from whom he had received two belts of wampum from Canada as a token they wished to be included in the treaty. Loron was the chief speaker, saying that the Indians had done their best to preserve their agreement. Later he wrote Mr. Dummer saying:

"Never let the trading houses deal in much rum. It wastes the health of our young men, it unfits them to attend prayers. It makes them carry ill to both your people and their own brethren. This is the mind of our chief men."

The famous Dummer Treaty of 1725 was renewed several times with the tribes. It is estimated that one-third of the Abenaques were destroyed in the war. They made no figure nor took any part in the treaty. The eastern tribes, especially the Tarratines took supreme leadership of the tribes of Maine thereafter.

About two hundred English were killed or taken captive in the war which was largely a conflict between the settlers and the Indians. Morcus, chief sagamore of the Kennebecs, spread the word to the Anasagunticooks saying.

"I will stand by the peace so long as God gives me breath."

Mr. Dummer, Lieutenant Governor of Maine tried a new experiment to establish confidence and gain favor with the Indians. He established "Truck houses" or trading posts near several forts, the earliest at St. George and Richmond. Truckmasters were placed in charge of them and instructed to pay full value for furs and to sell commodities like molasses, sugar, rum, corn meal and tobacco at a price that would cover the cost with a small surplus for freight and waste. In many instances the General Court allowed ten per cent for waste in order that the truckmasters might lower the prices without loss when costs dropped. On the whole the truckhouses proved expensive to the government, for whole Indian families were maintained at public expense when the sanup, or Indian husband, was unable to provide food for his family. In 1730 there is a record of Sabatis requesting that supplies be kept at Fort George, for, he said,

"Cold winters and deep snows, my Indians, unable to go to Fort Richmond, sometimes suffer." His request was granted and there was no disturbance locally though the tribe was always viewed with distrust.

The next few years were, on the whole, peaceful. A throat temper in 1735 resulted in the death of about five hundred settlers. The year following there was a shortage of crops which caused great distress. It is said there was even little bread to be bought in Boston. In 1742 the population of the whole eleven incorporated towns of which Brunswick was the youngest, incorporated in 1738, was estimated at 3,692. In Brunswick there were about forty men. On the prospect of a new war between France and England, the Legislature appropriated 1280 pounds to be used for strengthening the defense of

Maine frontiers. Fort George which they had threatened to dismantle was again made a public garrison with six men on duty. In addition the county of York (to which Brunswick then belonged) was to have a detachment of 400 enlisted men ready to march at any time to any place. Each soldier was to equip himself with a good gun, sufficient ammunition, a hatchet, an extra pair of shoes, a pair of moccasins and even a pair of snowshoes.

The war which the English had been expecting broke out in June, 1744, when three hundred Indians made an attack upon Annapolis, Nova Scotia. Eastern garrisons were immediately reinforced by 73 men and a group of three hundred organized as scouts. The force at Fort George was doubled to twelve men. War was declared on all tribes east of Passamaquoddy and an effort made to enlist the Tarantines on the English side. They refused to take arms against the St. John Indians, their brethren, and indeed they resembled the tribes to the eastward, the Marachetes and the Micmacks, all three belonging to the Etechemin group.

The capture of Louisberg in 1745 under the forces of Sir William Pepperell was a most amazing and favorable undertaking. So popular was the expedition that hundreds of Maine colonists abandoned their holdings for the glory of sharing in the expedition. There was great consternation in Brunswick when twenty-five or thirty men enlisted, the remaining few observing a day of fasting and prayer. The General Court was petitioned to send troops to protect them during the men's absence, for a general opening of hostilities with the French meant an almost certain uprising among the Indians. Many of the older chiefs, like Castine the Younger, had died and younger warriors were eager to join the Canadian Indians in warfare. Truckhouses which had done so much to establish friendly relations fell into disuse and no new truckmasters were appointed.

In July hostilities commenced at Damariscotta and in the same month a boy was scalped in Topsham, while at New Meadows a man had his horse shot from under him. For the next few years hostilities were unceasing in this vicinity. The full number of men protected Fort George and a number of blockhouses were erected. Scouts were maintained between Brunswick and Falmouth under Captain Mochus, while Captain Gatchell scouted between Fort George and Fort Richmond. In May 1747 the Indians shot Mr. Seth Hinckley of New Meadows and shortly afterwards killed Moffit and Potter crossing the river to Topsham. In 1748 they shot and killed Capt. Burns and a Mr. Bragg at Mair Brook, and on May third of the same year Captain Burnell and another man were killed at Brunswick. A letter written by Samuel Whitney of New Meadows to Lieutenant Governor Phips relates that he had lost everything in the late uprising. He states incidentally that the Indians who made the attack were nine of them Norridgewocks, one of them well known to him, the remaining were Canadian Indians. These Indians, he said, had removed to Canada, drawn there by the French and were well supplied with guns and ammunition.

Every effort was made to supply the eastern inhabitants with proper protection. A committee of five trustees was appointed in 1747 to remunerate the soldiers, to send generous provisions and in addition a bounty amounting to about forty pounds was offered for every scalp of an Indian. The same amount was offered for a French prisoner, a method of retaliation for the general massacre of English captives by Indians who had renewed attacks on Falmouth and nearby towns.

The winter of 1747 was unusually severe and bread scarce owing to lack of cultivation the preceding summer. There were four or five large garrisons in Maine and Sagadahoc (the eastern Maine province was so-called), twenty-five or more blockhouses, yet only three hundred soldiers retained in service. The Indian attacks took on more and more the color of guerilla warfare with sudden siezures and single murders over widely scattered areas. Every spring the Indians came early and kept the settlers constantly on the alert so that their regular occupations suffered accordingly. Happily, war was concluded between France and England in 1748 and late in October representatives from the Penobscot, St. Francis and Norridgewock tribes appeared at Falmouth and signed the provincial peace treaty. It was a renewal of the famous Dummer Treaty of 1725, conveying all hitherto unassigned lands to the Indians with the usual hunting and fishing privileges. The Indians swore allegiance to the king and agreed to bring all matters under dispute to the provincial courts. For the St. Francis Indians, the following chieftains signed: Sawwaramet, Ausado, Waaungunga, Sauguish, Warcedeen and Wawaunka.

Scarcely six weeks later an affray broke out in Wiscasset in which three white men killed one Indian and badly wounded two others. The men, Obadiah Albee and Richard and Benjamin Holbrook were taken into custody and imprisoned at Falmouth from which they shortly escaped. The Indians were greatly incensed about the whole affair and to quell the disturbance the offenders gave themselves up for trial which the Indians were to witness to see that justice was done. None of the prisoners were ever found guilty. It was an occasion for eighty members of the St. Francis tribe to threaten an expedition against Falmouth. Fort Richmond was warned they might expect an attack within forty-eight hours. Since Richmond had but fourteen soldiers at the time and the nearest neighbors, Brunswick, but four, there was great anxiety. Had the Indians known the weakness of the forces they might easily have taken it, but they chose to spend the night in marauding leaving time for Captain Goodwin and his men to reach the fort and defend it. The marauders continued on to Dresden, then down the river to Arrowsick, capturing twenty or thirty prisoners in all, among them a man from Maquoit. The episode mentioned above concerning the mischief done Samuel Whitney and the death of Isaac Hinckley at New Meadows occurred at this time. Shortly afterward the tribes of Penobscot, Passamaquoddy and St. John concluded peace at St. George's Fort, though there is no record of the St. Francis delegates being present.

The next few years were filled with new anxieties, with French

settlements increasing along the Chaudiere, the sources of which were near those of the Kennebec. In 1754 three new forts were constructed along the upper Kennebec, Fort Shirley at Dresden, Fort Western at Augusta and Fort Halifax eighteen miles further north at Teconnet (Winslow). A road between Fort Western and Halifax was ordered to be cleared and made fit for carriages. In addition, the year following, four expeditions were sent out against the French; General Brad-dock against Fort Duquesne which fell in July, 1775; the second against the French Acadians and Indians of Nova Scotia; the third under General Johnston at Crown Point; the fourth under General Shirley himself moved unsuccessfully against Niagara and Fort Fron-tenac. It was a concerted, well organized effort to oust the French from every province. The General Court declared war against the Anasagunticooks and all other Indian tribes east of the Piscataqua, except the Penobscots. Bounties up to two hundred pounds were offered for every Indian scalp, and by November the General Court saw fit to include the Penobscots in the general proclamation, owing to the difficulty of "Distinguishing men of your tribe from others with whom we are at war." Provision was made for a winter establishment at the forts with eighty regular soldiers at Halifax and Cushnoc, fifteen at Saco and five at Fort George.

On May third three well-armed men went from Brunswick to Harpswell where three Indians rose up and took one of them, a scout named Young, prisoner. At Fort Halifax two men were shot at the falls while fishing and were mortally wounded. Before the summer was out a great number of farms were abandoned or laid to waste, as usually happened even when the savages were bent on nothing more serious than mischief. Captain Lithgow and a party of eight men were attacked by a group of Androscoggin Indians not far from the fort, in Topsham, and two of them were wounded.

The war came to a close in September, 1759, with signal victories all around for the English and colonial forces, with the astonishing capture of Quebec under General Wolfe's forces, the fall of Crown Point and Ticonderoga under General Amherst. The most signal defeat to the Indians was the destruction of their villages St. Francis and Beancourt by Major Robert Rogers' Rangers. The power of St. Francis and the allied tribes of the Kennebecs and Androscoggins was forever broken.

The tribes to sue for peace first were those at St. John and at Passamaquoddy. The Dummer Treaty was again confirmed, recognizing the MicMacs and Marachetes as subjects of the King. The Indians agreed to trade only at the truckhouses and offered hostages for good conduct. Early the next spring settlers left the garrisons and blockhouses and returned to their farms. The frontiers of Maine were safe, the Indian warwhoop to be heard no more. Peace after nearly eighty-five years of war began to have the aspects of permanence.

In the long bitter conflict against the Indian tribes Brunswick played only a small part, but that nobly.

As for the Indian he still lives in names alone—the Androscoggin

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